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SUBJ: AMB TASCA ON CYPRUS

REF: NICOSIA 1750

1. TESTIMONY FROM AMB TASCA TAKEN IN ATHENS JAN 12, 1972, BY HOUSE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON NATO WHILE VISITING NATO INSTALLATIONS AND CAPITALS. TEXT OF TESTIMONY LATER SENT JUSMAAG AND AMBASSADOR IN ATHENS AND RETURNED DIRECTLY TO HASC. DEPT NOT ALERTED TO PUBLIC RELEASE OF TESTIMONY.

2. TEXT FOLLOWS:

MR. STRATTON (D, NEW YORK). COULD YOU ALSO COMMENT ON THE CYPRUS SITUATION?

AMB TASCA. THE CYPRUS SITUATION, YES. THE CYPRUS SITUATION HAS A NUMBER OF ELEMENTS THAT ARE HARD TO RECONCILE AND IT JUST TAKES A LOT OF CONSTANT ATTENTION. FIRST OF ALL, CYPRUS IS 82 PERCENT GREEK AND 13 PERCENT TURKISH.

SECOND, YOU HAVE TWO COMMUNITIES THERE. YOU HAVE A TURKISH COMMUNITY AND A GREEK-CYPRIOI COMMUNITY. WHEREAS GOVT OF TURKEY HAS DIRECT AND FULL CONTROL OVER TURKISH COMMUNITY DOWN THERE--THEY WILL DO WHAT GOVT OF ANKARA TELLS THEM--THAT IS NOT TRUE IN THE GREEK-CYPRIOI COMMUNITY BECAUSE THEY ARE BEING GOVERNED BY MAKARIOS AND THEY HAVE A

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DEMOCRACY DOWN THERE AND THEY HAVE THEIR OWN POLICY AND THEIR OWN PATH THEY WANT TO FOLLOW. THEY DON'T ALWAYS AGREE WITH THE GOVT UP HERE. I THINK THERE IS A DIFFERENCE. THE GOVT HERE OF PAPADOPOULOS FEELS THAT THE IMPORTANT POINT IS THAT GREECE AND TURKEY ARE FRIENDS AND CYPRUS SHOULD TAKE A SECONDARY ROLE. MAKARIOS FEELS THAT THAT IS FINE, BUT GREECE AND TURKEY ARE NOT GOING TO DECIDE THE FUTURE OF CYPRUS.

THE PROBLEM THERE IS WHAT DEGREE OF AUTONOMY SHOULD TURKISH COMMUNITY HAVE, AND UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS. GOVT OF TURKEY AND TURKS WANT FULL LOCAL AUTONOMY FROM TOP TO BOTTOM TO RUN THEIR OWN BUSINESS, A SORT OF SWISS CANTON NOTION, WHEREAS THE GREEK CYPRIOTS--MAKARIOS SAYS, "THAT IS EQUIVALENT TO PARTITION AND NOBODY IS GOING TO PARTITION OUR COUNTRY. WE WANT AN INDEPENDENT, SOVEREIGN, UNITARY STATE, AND THEY HAVE GOT TO OPERATE WITHIN THAT FRAMEWORK--THE TURKS HAVE TO."

THERE IS LONG HISTORY ABOUT THE WAY LONDON-ZURICH AGREEMENT BROKE DOWN AND THE VIOLENCE AND ACTUAL SEPARATION THAT YOU NOW HAVE AND GREEN LINE AND ROLE PLAYED BY UN FORCE THERE; IT IS A VERY TOUGH SITUATION BECAUSE MANY GREEKS THERE ULTIMATELY WANT TO BE UNITED WITH GREECE. FOR TURKS, TO THEM ENOSIS IS FIGHTING WORD. THE TURKISH GOVT IS NOT GOING TO ALLOW CYPRUS TO BE UNITED WITH GREECE.

MR. STRATTON. ENOSIS?

AMB TASCA. YES, SIR. THEY HAVE BEEN TALKING NOW FOR ABOUT 3 YEARS IN TRYING TO REACH SOME AGREEMENT ON HOW THESE TWO COMMUNITIES CAN LIVE TOGETHER. THE TALKS ALMOST BROKE DOWN AND THE SECRETARY GENERAL HAS JUST GOTTEN INVOLVED. HE IS ORGANIZING A NEW SET OF TALKS WHICH WILL INVOLVE BEYOND THE TWO COMMUNITIES THE GOVT OF GREECE AND GOVT OF TURKEY AND REPRESENTATIVE OF SYG. THEY WILL NOW RESUME TALKS AT EARLY DATE, WE HOPE.

THE TURKS HAVE NOT GIVEN THEIR FINAL AGREEMENT ON THIS ARRANGEMENT BUT WE HOPE AND THINK THEY WILL DO SO. THEY WILL GO THROUGH THIS WHOLE PROBLEM AGAIN, AS TO WHAT THE POSITION OF TWO COMMUNITIES OUGHT TO BE, WHAT DEGREE

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OF AUTONOMY THE LOCAL TURKS OUGHT TO HAVE, AND SO ON.

THERE IS ONE POINT. THEN LET US GO UP TO CYPRUS A MINUTE AND LOOK AT THE PROBLEMS FROM THEIR STANDPOINT. MAKARIOS IS A VERY ABLE MAN AND HE HAS A LOT OF

BARGAINING CARDS. CYPRUS IS INDEPENDENT COUNTRY, ALMOST INDEPENDENT, A MEMBER OF THE UN. HE HAS PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM AS FAR AS THE GREEK COMMUNITY IS CONCERNED. PARLIAMENT INCLUDES A VERY STRONG LEFT WING, AND COMMUNISTS HAD BIG VICTORY IN LAST ELECTIONS. OF THE PEOPLE THAT VOTED, I THINK THEY GOT A VERY HIGH PERCENTAGE OF VOTES. SO SOVIETS ARE VERY INTERESTED IN CYPRUS. BRITISH HAVE TWO SOVEREIGN BASE AREAS AND SOVIETS ARE GOING TO SUPPORT MAKARIOS IN EVERY WAY POSSIBLE IN ANY LINE HE TAKES AGAINST TURKEY AND GREECE. HE KNOWS THAT. SO IF WORSE COMES TO WORST, HE COULD GO TO THE UN AND SAY, "LOOK, I AM A SMALL INDEPENDENT COUNTRY AND THOSE COUNTRIES ARE PLANNING TO DESTROY INDEPENDENCE. WE WANT YOUR HELP."

SO THE RESULT OF THAT IS THAT HE FEELS HIS POSITION IS VERY STRONG. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THAT LIES IN FACT THAT WHEN YOU GET TO POINT OF COMPROMISE IN HIS INTER-COMMUNAL TALKS, THAT COMPROMISE BECOMES MORE DIFFICULT.

I WAS DOWN THERE AND I AM PERSONALLY CONVINCED THAT IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO FIND A FORMULA FOR THESE TWO COMMUNITIES TO LIVE TOGETHER. I SEE NO REASON AT ALL WHY YOU COULDN'T GIVE THE TURKS A LARGE DEGREE OF AUTONOMY IN EXCHANGE FOR DECONFRONTATION. THE POINT IS THAT MAKARIOS DOES NOT WANT TO DO ANYTHING WHICH MOVES HIM IN THE DIRECTION OF DE FACTO PARTITION OF THE ISLAND.

THIS IS THE ESSENCE OF IT. AUTONOMY IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES MEANS DE FACTO PARTITION.

MR. RANDALL (D, MO., CHAIRMAN). ALONG THAT POINT, YOU SAID THAT TURKS WOULD WANT SOMETHING LIKE CANTONS OVER IN SWITZERLAND. IS THAT POSSIBLE BECAUSE OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION? WHICH PART OF THE ISLAND?

AMB TASCA. THAT IS A VERY GOOD QUESTION YOU RAISE, BECAUSE THAT IS ANOTHER THING THAT MAKES THIS THING TRE-

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MENDOUSLY COMPLICATED. IF YOU LOOK AT THE POPULATION MAP, EVERYBODY IS ALL MIXED UP WITH EVERYBODY ELSE. TURKS ARE MIXED UP WITH GREEKS. THERE IS REALLY NOT ANY ONE AREA THAT YOU CAN PICK OUT IN CYPRUS AND SAY THIS IS GREEK AND THIS IS TURK. YOU HAVE TO HAVE SOME ARRANGEMENTS UNDER WHICH YOU HAD LOCAL AUTONOMY WITH PEOPLE WHERE THEY ARE, ALL MIXED UP, OR ELSE YOU WOULD HAVE TO HAVE SOME MOVES WHICH WOULD BE VERY PAINFUL. GREEKS WENT THROUGH THIS IN 1922. YOU HAVE A BIG SHIFT IN POPULATIONS, QUITE A BIG SHIFT.

MR. RANDALL. NORTHERN IRELAND REPEATED. HOW TO MOVE SOME IN AND MOVE SOME OUT.

AMB TASCA. YES, SIR. IT IS VERY DIFFICULT PROBLEM, AND I CAN UNDERSTAND TURKISH SIDE, TOO, BECAUSE THEY ARE SCARED DOWN THERE. THAT IS A BIG GREEK POPULATION THAT THEY HAVE THERE. THEY ARE JUST WORRIED ABOUT THEIR OWN SECURITY AND THEY JUST STICK TO THEIR GOVERNMENT IN ANKARA LIKE NOBODY.

MR. RANDALL. MR. AMBASSADOR, IF THERE ARE NO FURTHER QUESTIONS, WE THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR EXPLORING THE SITUATION ON CYPRUS. ROGERS

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